/41 cont./

868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

593 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

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836 The virginity of the single woman is becoming very rare in La Guajira. Premarital relations have been occurring with greater frequency in recent years as a consequence of the social disintegration of this indigeneous group, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, among which stand out: the influence of the so-called white groups, among whom free union is common practice; emigration to regions such as Venezuela, where the Indian women break away from the norms of their ancestors and find an atmosphere which does not resent the sexual adventures of women but rather stimulates them; the scarcity and hunger in certain regions which push the inhabitants toward the urban centers of the peninsula, where the woman gives herself in exchange for the wherewithal to satisfy her vital needs of food and dress, an attitude which her relatives recognize and tolerate because, indirectly, it also helps them. The premarital relations forced by circumstances or encouraged by them have been creating a social class of women which previously did not exist nor could fit within her social organization: the prostitute. It must be noted that it is the mestizo woman (mixture of Indian with white or negro) who more easily takes this road.

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Also one has to take into account the premature premarital relations that have always existed in La Guajira and which take place between the girls and their brothers, and even their fathers, when the girls are about ten or more, when they go to the fields or the countryside in general and meet the boys who are devoting themselves to pasturing. (Cf. Chap. II.)

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836 The common type of furtive sexual relations of the adult
558 woman causes her to drop in social esteem and particularly in
178 that of the men, producing, indirectly, the phenomenon that virginity as a basis for marriage has become overvalued. Before, it was a fact that was logically expected as an essential, and the lack of this condition created social and psychic problems.

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836 558 178 Today this causes less repercussion, and the phenomena which were aroused in the society and the individual have become weakened. But by contrast, it /virginity/ is an object of greater search, and the man who is successful /70/ in finding a virgin bride publicizes it as an individual reason for prestige. Furthermore, men are complaining less and less when their wives have not come as virgins to the nuptial hammock, and they only make it the subject of satirical songs when they are drunk. That is to say, they take the matter more broadmindedly, giving it the character of an accomplished fact and almost to be expected.

684 Violation and rape. The payment for abuse is that which the Guajiro must pay for illicit sexual relations with an unmarried woman, being a material compensation for the improper use made of her and returning to the woman her position of respected spinster, with the possibility that another man will court her and buy her for himself, without the fact of the abuse weighing as a dishonor in her past or having any echo in the future. It is also the compensation to the maternal relatives of the woman for the material and moral offense of violation of a right. They receive this payment because, by not accepting it, they would lower their kinswoman, and through her all of the family, to the category of "a dog or a burro," with no one to make their rights valid, and in order to prevent others wishing to do the same thing to other women of the family, which would bring the prestige of the group to an end. Also, because the man made use of a right which he should have paid for beforehand, to compensate the woman's relatives for rearing her and for the social support they have given her. The payment covers two distinct aspects of different value: violation and rape.

684 839 In the first case, as it is considered that the woman has shown willingness in the act, only the abuse is taken into account. In the second, as force has been used, a compensation payment is demanded not only for abuse but for violation, specifying that the man used force and thereby humiliated the woman, made her dishonor and her physical weakness more obvious, and offended

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764 551 the name of the dead man in front of anyone, again for fear of offending his relatives, /157/ who, although they may not be present, might be informed by someone looking for payment for talebearing.

764 152 [178] One by one as the persons notified arrive, they express their sympathy. The form of doing so is as follows: The /dead man's/ kinsmen are seated on the ground, or nowadays more generally in the interior of the house (the new customs require the female relatives to remain inside the house seated on the floor, with their faces covered with a large cloth black like the robe they wear). When the outsider arrives he sits down beside them. Then begins the lamentation of the mourner, who mourns with his head bent forward, covered, as is his face. He cries for a more or less prolonged time, interspersing his weeping with short phrases which refer to his sorrow and his loss. He ends his lament, which is taken up by the visitor, and once he has finished they give the traditional Guajiro salutation, initiated by the mourner. They all begin to cry again in chorus, which they suspend to recount the process of the man's death in all its details.

Around the corpse are slung a series of hammocks at graded heights, which are occupied by the closest women relatives as they take turns in the weeping or by a newly arrived one, who, after expressing her sorrow to the family, must weep near the corpse, bending forward over the coffin and placing a hand on it, a magic action which will help her to dream of the deceased. In this position, the visitor, whether outsider or consanguineous relative, weeps in that tone and manner characteristic of the culture, which rather than weeping is like an intoned, melancholy complaint. The Guajiro men weep in a different manner, giving shouts of despair at intervals, without any definite timing. They do this standing up, bending over the coffin and covering their faces with a cloth, a hat, or a hand. On asking some outsiders, participants at a wake, how they were able to cry so intensely and realistically, they explained

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592 602 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their descendants.

611 4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 593 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 178 596 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

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593 culture to the maternal uncle. Another phenomenon /165/ that
178 develops in this type of marriage is the appearance of paternal
596 relatives who are gradually acquiring places in kinship to the point that they almost hold positions similar to those held in our society. In fact, the children of a marriage so constituted begin to consider their father within the boundaries of their relatives; initially, he was not so considered, but by degrees, he is acquiring this manifest recognition in the act of their taking sides with him, being represented by him on outstanding occasions such as marriage, receiving help and assistance from him, and later on being his legitimate heirs.

In the classical Guajiro home the outstanding authority is that of the maternal uncle, who surpasses the eldest person in order of importance. There can, however, be an exception when another of these relatives has acquired a position that is not only more prominent than any of his brothers but also extends its radius of action to all the clan group and even passes on to other clans. Individual personal merit or wealth may be the cause of the elevation of his status, which is fully recognized within the family to the point that he may supplant the brother who by chronological order he ought to obey. According to the
[561] old order, age was the index of the exercise of authority, an arrangement that defined succession in case of death.

596 It also may occur that in any one of the different homes formed by each one of the sisters of a family, preferential deference and recognition is given to one of the sisters without taking into account the hierarchy established by age, status, etc.

This preference is due to the affinity shown by the mother for one of her brothers, a preference that has a reciprocal effect extending to the sons of the sister from whom he will receive greater respect. Beside respect the influence goes deeper and the effective assistance of this brother is greater than that rendered by the others. This is shown especially by his gifts at the birth of the children of the sister and above all by his taking charge personally of educating them in pasturing and in masculine

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614 602 Furthermore, consanguinity regulates some fundamental aspects of clan organization, such as inheritance -- of wealth and of name; group identification; the place to locate the home, the cemetery, and marriage.

Within the group of consanguineous relatives, the influence of the maternal uncle is the one most felt, since the father lacks such authority. The uncle holds in his hands the rights and obligations which in other cultures, like our own, are assigned to the father. Another concept included in consanguinity is that of considering as sons and daughters all the members of the generation immediately following one's generation, and as siblings all the members of one's own generation within the clan group. The nexus of consanguinity within the clan is kept alive in its obligations and rights by the economic and social backing given to all its members. Between the dead and the living, for example, the tie is preserved through the special ceremonial made in tribute to the former (Cf. Cult of the dead, Chap. II) to keep alive the emotional bond between past and present generations.

Relations with other clan groups are controlled through compliance with the regimen for stability and by punitive measures that control aggression. Should aggressive acts occur, the aggressor and the injured party can strengthen their /respective/ positions by /176/ alliances with other groups, thus forming a bloc with sufficient power or coercive strength to bring about a favorable legal settlement.

178 602 614 At the present time all these bonds are becoming weakened by the change in the direction of kinship. The old total group concept has changed, in consequence of various influences, into another which is almost totally opposite. In the first place, the clans show subdivisions which affect their original unity and which have come about by members of the same clan settling in different parts of the peninsula, who, after a long period of growth and assisted by the springing up of their own caciques and for want of contact with the original cell, have become veritable independent groups with a sense of unity, although they all preserve the same totem and a common name and clan marks.

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178 602 614 In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exercise of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kinship between all its members has relaxed to the point that consanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship to include relatives of the fourth degree of collaterality, and then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limiting the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan unity begins to disintegrate.

178 797 602 614 Another change in the concept of kinship has been introduced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a superior plane since the father's name and not the mother's, as it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that of the father replaces and surpasses it.

178 614 582 5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous. Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

614 423 178 6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are held in common by each clan, which also works them communally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads, wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the clan members who will make use of them. At the present time individual solution of the water problem has permitted the splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore, there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

/214 cont./

231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

423 Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen:
425 Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
178 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need. Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

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423 764 The cemetery is also very closely related to land rights because every individual hopes to die on his own land, that is, in the place where his elders live and his ancestors lived: on clan territory; and he also hopes to be buried in the communal cemetery. These wishes and hopes of every Guajiro are what elicit long journeys with corpses relatives who died on alien land to give them burial in the cemetery of their ancestors. For this each clan owns a cemetery in certain places of its territory where /217/ the bodies of the deceased members or their bones after the celebration of the ceremony of the second burial may be buried. But in recent times many families who have outstanding social and economic position in the social collectivity have constructed private cemeteries or mausoleums in the vicinity of their family lands for their exclusive use. /page 218 is blank/

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XV

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

428 778 In the present state of the Guajiro culture it is extremely difficult to make a basic study of the laws of inheritance because with the process of acculturation taking place in the community, there has been introduced a series of new practices which, combined with the primitive and traditional forms, make the present system a structure difficult to mark off and to subject to fixed norms. We will confine ourselves to giving a few indications of what constitutes what we might call the code of inheritance, but we must make clear that the information we give is by no means complete, and it is possible that certain statements made may have to be rectified later. In general, we can affirm that they constitute the law for that section of the Guajiro community with which we have been in contact. With this in mind we continue our study.

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428 that is, when he gets married, his father must hand over to him all the animals that are his personal property. It is then that
431 the largest of the gifts is given. /222/ If this is not given, the boy is always waiting for his father to give it on some other occasion, but should the father die before having given it, the paternal relatives will not concede it to the young man, even though this may be a cause of fighting between the two clan groups.

428 The payment in livestock which the wife receives from the husband for inconveniences suffered during her pregnancy and for each childbirth can also be considered as indirect participation in his goods.

We know that funeral customs establish that when a man dies livestock that is his property must be slaughtered and distributed among the friends who attend the wake at the time of the death and those who attend the second burial. In order to comply with this norm the Guajiro has established gifts of livestock from the maternal relatives, the same as the father does with his children. When a new family member is born, the maternal uncles, especially the one most looked up to by the mother, make a present of livestock to the child which constitute, with the gifts he receives from the paternal relatives, his initial patrimony. These goods keep on growing with successive calving and with the addition of the gifts he receives from his mother, his maternal grandmother, and from other relatives when he becomes capable of caring for them himself. Finally, on marrying for the first time (we must keep in mind that polygamy exists), all the animals destined for him are handed over.

The daughters receive the larger portion of livestock on getting married, especially when they belong to groups of high status and they have been bought at a high price to be consistent with this high value and to maintain the social and economic standing of their family.

428 It should be emphasized, finally, that at the present time
178 the laws of inheritance, as we stated at the beginning, are no longer uniform, due to the steady process of acculturation in the

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428 178 Guajiro community. As a consequence, this phenomenon has brought about a series of struggles among family groups related by marriage ties, as the children now expect to inherit from their fathers, and they consider themselves to have more right to it than the maternal nephews /sobrinos maternos/ and the other obligatory traditional heirs. The situation of conflict has reached such extremes of malevolence and rancor that many times the maternal relatives of the deceased will not resist such claims but will relinquish their rights to the dead man's descendants. /223/

XVI

WORK

461 476 There are two forms of communal work, depending on the ends in view.

a) Communal work with the object of carrying out a job of general utility or utility to the clan.

b) Private work that benefits an individual and his immediate family.

In the first class we have the example of the construction of roads, dams, wells, cemeteries, etc. In La Guajira passage is free over all roads. Consequently, their construction benefits the social collectivity and, more particularly, those groups who wish to be connected by means of them. To open a new road, the beneficiaries most concerned get together with the aim of coming to an agreement on the plans, the preliminary location, and the distribution of the span of the work which will be handled by each group. The collaborators, on their part, redistribute the cost and execution. Thus one day one family supplies food and drink to all the workers; the following day another family, and so on successively until the work is finished.

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472 463 f) As a hobby. During the hottest hours of the day or during his spare time, he makes at home small objects that can be sold to his fellow Indians or to whites, such as tools, harness, figures of coconut shell and of plastic material, necklaces, bags, sandals, weapons, hats, etc.

Along with the profession of shaman in which both sexes participate, and that of diviner, we find the occupation of arbitrator, which demands the personal qualities already enumerated in the pertinent chapter and which gives to the individual who exercises it not only prestige among his relatives and compatriots but also the right to remuneration.

Another trade that has become remunerative is that of harness and saddle making. Although some women compete successfully in the manufacture, the culture considers them intruders, because this is an activity recognized traditionally as belonging to the masculine sex.

441 178 As a product of acculturation through whites and facilitated by civilization and the closeness of Venezuela as well as by the decline in traditional economic activities, commercial activity has developed among the Guajiro. It is not so much the pure native as it is the mestizo of some economic means who devotes himself to this /commerce/; the fact should be noted that women, under equal conditions, participate actively in the exploitation of this economic source. They go to Aruba and Curaçao and obtain cheap merchandise on credit, which they bring in by smuggling to sell in Colombia, following the route to Riohacha or Valledupar or continuing on the route to Venezuela. Some do not work directly as owners of the goods but as carriers across the peninsula to deliver them at their destination.

472 463 Women find remunerative work especially in domestic service, such caring for children, preparing food, carrying water and firewood, cleaning, etc. They also work in the capacity of maids with the obligation of living in the home where they work. The Guajiro woman does not willingly work under these latter conditions as she prefers the free life of her own home, although food

[46 cont.]

411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurírra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurírra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
• 778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy; he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

[113 cont.]

the propitiation of the rain, which is the culmination of the rituals of the Guajiro Indians.

When summer continues overlong and endangers the crops, animals, and the community in general, the shaman gets ready to call for and to attract rain. To effect this he dresses in the way we have seen him do when he cures sickness or casts out epidemics and begins to invoke up his protector spirits that they may aid him in his trance. He chews tobacco and rhythmically sways his torso and head while shaking his maraca. All these acts he carries out while seated on a wooden zoomorphic chair. He then commences to sing loudly to attract his spirits, and when he attains this he asks them to send rain. He tells them that men need it, that they are without food and without water in their wells, and they are near death through hunger and thirst, their animals are dying, and misery and desolation is overrunning their country. At certain moments the shaman goes out from the house where he is carrying out his ceremony and walks around it so as to attract the rain and scare away the evil spirits that are keeping it back. As a result of these ceremonies rain should fall.

But this is not the only method that the natives have at their disposal to attract rain. The propitiation can be effected in a different way without the intervention of the shaman. This is happening now in all the acts of magic in this society, which we may describe as being in a state of disintegration in which the prestige of the shaman has lost importance, and ordinary people have taken over his science. We shall see below a series of methods the natives employ to attract rain without the shaman's intervention.

For example, a kind of adoration is very common which the Indians pay to a certain iguana that is found in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the seacoast, an adoration that is shown in a series of fiestas and dances, the purpose of which is to obtain the favor of these reptiles, so that they may place no [114] obstacle in the way of the hoped-for rainfall but let it occur freely. We shall study this association iguana-rainfall more fully in the last chapter.

Other methods used by the Indians to attract rain during summer are: beating their drums for many hours on consecutive

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family necklace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface dur- [571 273] ing his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who [539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

[128 cont.]
of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

These restrictions must be considered as the totality of the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

[146 cont.]

If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately connected both by their language and culture, there is nothing strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language), and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case, the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token, that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confusion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might almost say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with western civilization has created difficulties which by now are practically insurmountable.

Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have acquired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritually, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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423 614 It is, of course, only the usufruct that is inherited. The land can neither be sold nor given away, for it belongs to the clan. All members of a clan have the right to pasture their herds in the clan's territories, and every man also has the right to graze his beasts and to use wood and water in the lands belonging to his wife's clan. That is one of the advantages he acquires in return for the bride-price he has paid.

565 614 There has developed a class distinction unusual among Indians on the primitive level. A man of simple origins can sometimes marry into a high-born family, but he does not become any the better for that, though his children belong to their mother's aristocratic clan. It is, however, seldom that a man of humble family can get himself a girl from the upper classes—that could only happen if he had inherited or had relatives who could help him pay the bride-price.

583 614 This is so high that a young man almost always has to have the help of his clan to pay it. The relatives of a girl of really good family may demand £2000 worth of cattle, while a girl of humbler stock can be had for £50 worth. The amount can be paid in money, but that is only done in the south, in the areas belonging to Venezuela, where the Indians are more accustomed to coins and have confidence in gold.

It must not be imagined that this is a question of purchase like buying a donkey, a cow or a slave. It is a transaction that concerns both clans. One should not marry within one's [178] own clan. In the old days that was forbidden, but now they are not so strict, since the clans are often split into local sub-groups. The whole marriage transaction is well adapted to the social and economic system. (When, during the first oil rush, white workers from the Maracaibo oil fields bought poor girls, usually of half-breed parents, those were transactions whose legality under Guajiro law was merely fictitious.) The bridegroom's family helps him to pay the bride-price and contributes generously if the girl is of good family. The bride-price is to some extent regarded as compensation for what the family expended on the girl while she was growing up.

When a couple's first daughter marries, the father asks

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and rums were placed in the graves. Then, when fortunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

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reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.

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cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty. As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to indivduals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

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writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajira will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushiana, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well definied heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation processes go forward.

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/536 cont./

114 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Bríscol
614 (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assur-
ance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subse-
●178 quent conversation with still other women it became clear
614 that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become
simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the
present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands
had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices
still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit
one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the
totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations
of mother-right.

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the
whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans
[212] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his
614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it.
212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a
422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock,
231 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun
and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right
of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is
peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every
domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns.
Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the
members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/
the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

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a foreign observer encounters slight variations — as has just been mentioned. For this reason, in the table (p. 5) I put in the names corresponding with precisely the sounds that I heard most frequently; I have taken the map (p. 9) unchanged from the original.

614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them.
101 As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a
178 duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the
101 clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times
574 made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries
614 of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority — was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered
[123] by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

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614 The continued influencing through a series of generations,
614 even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the
177 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive
178 judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in
● them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened."
It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in
the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions
as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan
members from their totem animal as established and factual.
[123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the clans of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor. Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very beginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh. Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us, one after another. There are now only sixteen independent
614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez
173 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented
114 the introductory words to another myth, "The Distribution /541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Maretwa "then told the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/. Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction between totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination.
614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),